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THE
CONSEQUENCES
OF THE
PROPOSED UNION
WITH RESPECT TO
I R E L A N D,
CONSIDERED:

IN A
SECOND LETTER
To the Marquis Cornwallis.

By JAMES GERAHTY, Esq.
BARRISTER AT LAW.

“He that opposes his own judgment against the current of the times, ought to be backed with unanswerable truths; and he that has that truth on his side, is a fool as well as a coward, if he is afraid to own it because of the multitude of other men’s opinions: ’tis hard for a man to say, all the world is mistaken but himself; but if it be so, who can help it?”

De Foe.

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CONFIDENTIAL
PROPOSED UNION

MEMORANDUM



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THE
CONSEQUENCES
OF THE
PROPOSED UNION
WITH IRELAND,
CONSIDERED; &c.

MY LORD,

HAVING in my former letter to your Excellency, so fully gone through the argument of necessity; having shewn that there has long existed in Ireland an uniform, constant, and growing disposition for dissolving her political connection with England, and establishing a separate and democratic government; and that this disposition of late has been openly avowed and professed: and having, I trust, satisfactorily proved, that the administration of government in Ireland has, from peculiar causes, and the imperfect connection of the two countries, been most highly

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objection-

objectionable; that it has long produced much discontent, and given colour and pretext to the schemes of conspirators and rebels; and that it has brought into danger as well as disrepute, the connection with Britain, which has been upholden by means useless to one country, and pernicious to the other; and it being now put beyond doubt, that nothing but an INCORPORATED UNION of the legislatures of both countries, can correct the evils of which Ireland has complained, and avert the misery and calamities with which she is now threatened, from the mode of remedy so many men are anxious to pursue; from the revolutionary zeal of her disaffected, whose object is democracy; and from the deep and subtle schemes of the enemies of Great Britain, whose object is separation; and which danger is much encreased by the shortsightedness of those who think that Ireland can continue with safety under the old system of government, whose object is momentary repose, a policy fatal to states as well as individuals. When there is difficulty, there must be resolution; magnanimity must be opposed to danger, or else exertion will come too late, and all attempts at recovery prove vain; and by the weakness of those who think that the Irish government has the means of regeneration,

neration, that it can new model and correct itself without touching its vitals, or verging on revolution, whose object is reform, and by the stupidity of the aristocracy, its creatures and expectants, who think that they can longer retain their power and ascendancy, their hopes and speculations, whose object is self-interest—from the combination of these different descriptions of men, each urged by separate and distinct views to oppose the measure of incorporation, the public tranquillity is threatened, and the question is at once decided in violence and phrenzy, instead of being discussed with sober and dispassionate argument. After pressing, therefore, in my former Letter, this argument of important necessity, it may appear superfluous to go farther: however, I shall advance another step, and endeavour to shew, that the direct operation of an Incorporated Union of these countries, must prove highly and extensively beneficial to Ireland; and shall conclude with noticing some objections which have been urged.

That the consequences of order, tranquillity, and subordination in Ireland, from a legislative union, are most likely to be produced, appears to me manifest, from several considerations.

rations. The system of government through the medium of an aristocracy will instantly cease; that monopoly of power and patronage, which hitherto depressed the people and disgraced the government, will be dissolved, and the avenues which it obstructed, and the market it forestalled, will be thrown open to a fair competition of talent, and to that equal unimpeded contest for favor and distinction, which is the character of genuine freedom; which excludes the rancour and antipathy arising from unjust preference; which makes every private man contented with his condition, and secures to the public an honorable, able, and efficient administration. The abatement and prostration of this nuisance of aristocracy, which has barricaded the highways, and given passage only to a favoured few, will give to the people of Ireland the advantage of a pure republic without its evils, the reward of genius, and the essentiality of talents to public station, without the contentions of party or the virulence of faction; which from the foundation of political establishments has marked the history of democracies, and proved their final ruin; and the overthrow of this same aristocracy will ensure to the Irish nation the superiority of regal government, gradation of rank, incitement to virtue and patriotism,

triotism, and encouragement to professional labor and merit by the transmission of acquired honors, the hereditary descent of that nobility which remunerates honorable and useful exertions, and provokes and animates a succession of talents and zeal in all the departments of the public service.

No measure, in my apprehension, can produce a reform in Ireland so salutary or so effectual, to renovate and restore her constitution, to relieve and remove her disorders, and purify and invigorate the whole system of government, without touching its vitals or endangering its existence. If the great cause of discontent and dissatisfaction in Ireland has been, the preponderance of a few, who engrossed the political power of the state, who wielded the great machine of parliament without controul in absolute and exclusive proprietorship, who dictated to the viceroy and governed in his name, whose rapacity created and extended a system of influence without principle, and corruption without limit, who divided the people by inequality of civil rights, and weakening the nation by this division, and upholding and producing jealousies, disunion, and discord amongst fellow-citizens, established its own ascendancy in power, and secured an
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open unrestrained course for its extravagance, and impunity for its transgressions. If the existence of this over-grown and usurping power has offended the people of Ireland, its removal must be grateful; if that offence produced opposition which interrupted the public peace, its ceasing must contribute to tranquillity; if the aristocracy divided the people, exalting one description of men in overweening pride, and debasing the other in humiliation, its subversion must produce equality of rights, and establish union of interest, of sentiment, and feeling. Philanthropy must succeed to discord, and those who under this mischievous system feel towards their countrymen the rancour of an enemy and the fury of a bigot, must on its extinction return to the affection of friendship and the duties of Christian charity; and if this aristocracy, by the expensive patronage it produced and the political misconduct it occasioned, has brought the connection with Britain into disrepute, transferring to her the odium of measures which the strength of the aristocracy obliged her to concede or to reject, which odium has ripened into hostility and into actual steps for separation, it is clear that the eradication of this great cause and parent of abuse and malversation, must terminate this odium, and
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removing this obstructing prejudice and misapplied imputation, must facilitate and promote that fraternal and affectionate disposition, which should pervade both countries, and which must prove a bond of strength, as well as their best security for mutual freedom.

It is objected, by the opponents of the measure of incorporation, that previous to the year 1782, when the Irish parliament was of very limited and subordinate consideration, Great Britain did not conduct herself with that liberal and fair policy which should recommend her a second time to the controul and management of Irish affairs.

Several answers may be given in explanation of the former conduct of Great Britain, and which at the same time shew almost a moral certainty that on the union of these kingdoms, Ireland must derive from the common government every advantage and encouragement she can under any circumstances expect.

Before 1782 Ireland had a separate though dependent legislature, which, circumscribed as it was, had all the appearance of distinct
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establishment and exclusive deliberation; the parliament of England very rarely interfered, so as to bind Ireland in any act of legislation; the two countries were so related, that Ireland was restrained, by certain forms of circumscription, from any act which could militate with the policy of Great Britain. Certain eminent statutes afforded her this security, and she in turn almost universally left to Ireland the sole management of her interior concerns, domestic œconomy, local regulations, and police; the English parliament therefore could have felt no responsibility for the public measures of Ireland. The passive conduct she adopted could not be charged with the impolicy or severity of some proceedings, or be subject to the imputation of want of regard and of parental feeling in opposing others. A local and formal legislature, left in general to its own free-will as to all matters of internal government, seemed the proper object for censure and condemnation; it appears therefore clear, how unjust the inference is, that because the English parliament neglected the condition of Ireland when she felt no responsibility, she must be wholly indifferent, when she actually assumes this great trust, and imposes on herself this supreme and national duty, for the full, liberal, and perfect discharge of which she

she is bound as much by the provocation of self-interest, as by the feelings of sympathy and the injunction of moral and conscientious authority.

It is also worthy the consideration of all those who have examined the real estate of Ireland, who feel themselves without the contagion of vanity and prejudice, who are not floated down the tide of popular opinion, without weight to resist the current or energy to assume a direction of their own, whether the distemper which long afflicted Ireland, and has at length seized on her vitals, and now threatens her with death, has not been much aggravated by illiberality and selfishness, partial and contracted politics influencing the affairs of Ireland, through a local legislature, which feeling the same prejudice, respiring the same vitiated atmosphere, and labouring under the same malady, acted insensibly under a dominion which clouding its reason, obstructing its view, narrowing the circle of its benevolence, and inculcating and encouraging habits and pursuits of selfishness, has heightened and confirmed radical defects, and rendered the disorder of the nation more inveterate and fixed? Therefore, so far as respects the internal politics of Ireland; the rights and

relations of fellow-subjects; the order, industry, and comfort of the lower classes; the respectability and security of the upper; the tranquillity, the wealth, the strength, and improvement of the whole;—it is manifest that these must ever be a great object for the attention and solicitude of Great Britain; it will be her essential interest to promote them; and in the mode and manner of their encouragement, in nurturing, sustaining, and directing the faculties of Ireland, her judgment cannot be affected by the prejudices of party or biased by religious zeal; local considerations and feelings cannot exist; her conduct, free from the temptation of private interest, must be one disinterested policy as to particulars and individuals, and one continued effort to aggrandize herself by the health and strength of all her parts.

But as to all those subjects which admit a rivalry between the two countries, wherein their interests may be supposed to interfere, it is more confidently urged, That experience of the former conduct of Great Britain, does not justify sanguine expectations that she will hereafter be more liberal and less tenacious of the great advantages she possesses.—It may be answered, that whatever might have been
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the intentions of the English government towards Ireland, whatever its predilection and however impartial its schemes of policy towards her ; yet such was the strength of the trading and manufacturing interests in England, and such the zeal and pertinacity of monopolists, that it was impossible for the government to commit itself with so considerable an opposition, and to risk the public tranquillity for any measure respecting Ireland, however acceptable and grateful. This part of the answer need not be further urged to those who have ever been among manufacturers and traders ; who know their jealousies, and who have observed the dragon-like vigilance with which they defend the purlieus of monopoly, and their impatience and intolerance at all attempts of rivalry and competition ; and who also know how much the administration for the time being has been obliged to accommodate and gratify so powerful a class of citizens.

But circumstances are now most happily changed ; and time, which revolves all things, alternately raising and depressing in the great arch which it describes, has dissolved this very monopoly, created new views and speculations of interest, and converted the very reasoning
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for exclusive right and selfish appropriation to the strongest arguments for enlarged and enlightened participation, establishing the principle of partnership where it before sowed division and strife.

When at different times it was proposed and deliberated in England to encourage the manufactures of Ireland, to cherish and extend her industry, and to secure her at least the home-market, by additional customs on articles of foreign labour; or when the propriety was considered of giving to Ireland commercial freedom, and extending to her the favour which British subjects have in foreign markets, and the benefit of the act of navigation; it was uniformly insisted and pressed on the part of the manufacturers and traders of England, that from the fertility and cheapness of land in Ireland, and the consequent abundance of provisions and lowness of labour, she would be enabled to undersell Great Britain, and not only exclude the manufactures of England from her own market, but ruin them abroad; and that these advantages, aided by her western situation, indented coast, and navigable rivers, would give her such ascendancy in trade, as must considerably enrich her, at the expence and impoverishment of Great Britain.

Britain.—Such were the objections of monopolists; and such the language of selfish undiscerning policy. Incapable of a great view, its powers of vision are contracted, and it suffers from its own avarice, equally with the industry it confines and the speculation it depresses. This monopoly has given way not only under the relaxation of those laws by which it was secured, and the gradual removal of limitations and restraints affecting the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, but the very spirit and principle of mercantile jealousy between the two countries, seems to have vanished as their intercourse has increased, as the science of trade has been understood, as knowledge has opened the public mind, and as the disposition of brotherly affection on the part of England, and of zeal for the common good and common strength, have flourished and advanced.

That this jealousy, if not extinguished is considerably diminished, appears satisfactorily from the silence of all the classes of manufacturers, artizans, and traders in England, on the present question; who in 1785 loudly expressed their fears and alarms at the commercial adjustment which was then proposed; and though since the failure of that measure

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no other arrangement has varied or affected their relations.

It is clear, that the great cause is in a great measure banished, which formerly impeded and obstructed the English government from adopting a fair and equal policy respecting the external concerns of Ireland; that not only the same monopoly does not exist, nor are the same restraints continued; which indeed is admitted by the opponents of a legislative union, and advanced by them in argument; but that also, the very spirit and principle of selfishness, which Ireland once severely felt, has expired and determined: and therefore it results, that with respect to the future conduct of Great Britain in legislating for the great and external relations of Ireland, no injurious analogy from former times can be raised; a complete alteration of circumstances, and the abatement of obvious causes, establish the falsehood and injustice of unfavourable suspicion; and at the same time demonstrate, that as the subtraction of a negative is the addition of positive quantity, the extinction of trading jealousy, and the conversion of national prejudice into national sympathy and affection, must augment the common stock, and multiply the capital of the state.

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And let it be considered also, that as the two countries are now circumstanced, with separate legislatures, England, however, has the complete controul of the Irish government, and that it is completely impracticable and impossible for Ireland to derive from her legislature any measure affecting her relation with foreign powers, or her external trade, which in the most remote or minute degree could interfere with the views or interests of Great Britain; it is from the British government alone the trade of the two countries, or the intercourse of Ireland with foreign states, can receive extension or modification. It were idle to shew the real, and virtual and solid dependency of Ireland on the government of Great Britain, under her present political establishment, notwithstanding the distinctness of her legislature, and the formularies of separate existence.

And it is worth reflecting, whether the present disjunction of the Irish government does not itself impede the communication of commercial advantage, and render its possessors more tenacious; who, under a system of union and complete incorporation, would freely and openly equalize conditions, and

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minge in participation of the same rights, and enjoyment of the same advantages.

To this part of the argument it is hardly necessary to add, or to press further on the public attention, that however benevolent and paternal the intentions and views of the British government might have been towards Ireland, it was impossible to give them effect. A principle of exclusive selfishness, and of personal aggrandisement, to the detriment of the public, was the basis of an aristocracy in Ireland, in the first rank of citizens, and of monopoly in England, in the class of industry and labour; the one excluded her from the blessings of freedom, and the other from the opulence of trade; the one fettered the mind and cramped the intellect of the nation, the other enervated her corporeal strength, and blasted her powers of body; her interior suffered desolation from the one, and the other drew a line of demarcation and blockade, which prevented relief and communication from without. An incorporated union meets these great evils; it dissipates the aristocracy at home, and dissolves the monopoly abroad; it leaves the English government to its own discretion; secures its freedom of action, and

combines with its own safety and existence, the individual freedom of the subject, equality of political rights, the growth of useful industry, and prosperity in the Irish nation.

In contemplating the natural advantages of Ireland which have been mentioned, it instantly occurs to enquire, what further causes have hitherto counteracted their beneficent operation—and how it happens that the liberality of nature has been in vain?

To those well read in the history of nations, it does not appear an unusual phenomenon that the soil of a country should be fertile, and its inhabitants poor; that nature should pour out bounties with profusion, and that man should neglect them through indolence, or waste them with extravagance. Nations rise or fall, and flourish or decline, by the same means and from the same principles whereby the individual becomes rich or poor, is advanced to authority or continues in subjection, and passes his days illustrious or obscure; the scheme of Providence appears manifest, in morals as well as physics, to endow things natural with aptitudes for our purposes, to impress them with the faculty of contributing to the subsistence and the gratifications of man, and

to give to man himself capacity of mind to discern these relations, and apply them to his happiness; it is, however, through the intervention of labour, and patience and perseverance, that these inherent qualities are extracted, and that the human mind is improved: without sowing, we cannot reap, without culture we cannot enjoy; and it is an essential part of the general dispensation, that exertion shall be vain and fruitless, and that there shall be neither enjoyment or happiness, where morals have no influence, where virtue is not, nor the blessings which follow in her train, order, subordination, and tranquillity; if a nation, not estimating the qualities with which she is endued, or the connections with which she is allied, neglect the one and insult the other; if, a prey to faction, tumultuousness, and discord, the lower classes are ignorant and rude, without industry or manners, and her upper are haughty, oppressive, and corrupt, it were well that such a nation could remain humble and obscure, in poverty and insignificance, without acquiring celebrity by her crimes, or calling the attention of mankind to her misfortunes: the individual who wastes his patrimony in riot and dissipation, whose passions controul his reason, who as a man is immoral, as a subject is seditious, and is a bigot

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in religion, such a man cannot expect opulence or esteem; he can be known only to be abhorred, to be pitied, or despised.

It is stated, with an air of triumph, that for some years past the internal condition of Ireland has been much improved, so far as respects her physical capacity; that her agriculture has been much extended, that her linen manufacture has prospered, and her trade been much enlarged: and it is concluded, that these advantages have flowed from independence in the government, and that therefore an union must counteract them. It may be answered, in the first place, that if aristocracy at home, and monopoly abroad, have been rightly assigned as causes which deranged the interior, and checked the growth of industry in Ireland, it is clear that the abatement of that monopoly, and the relaxation of a system of selfishness on the part of England, must have highly contributed to the effects of her increased trade and improved manufacture; and it must be equally clear, that as an incorporated union must obliterate every vestige of monopoly, and necessarily equalize the rights of both nations, it must therefore considerably further that extension and improvement it so peculiarly produces.

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It remains then to examine, whether there have not been other important causes, which, as collateral, and in aid of this principle of liberality, have most highly contributed to the increase of population, of trade, and of wealth in Ireland. The truth of the positive cause which has been stated for these effects, by the opponents of incorporation, shall be afterwards investigated; it will appear false as a proposition of fact, and that relatively with respect to consequences, it does not justify the inference; and it will be considered, that as the evil of aristocracy at home has been relied on as the great parent of discontent and disorder in Ireland, whether the reasoning by which this is established, does not refute all notion of freedom and independence in the Irish government; and whether its existence is not inconsistent with the future tranquillity and subordination of Ireland: and can it, with safety to the public, be disbanded and dissolved by any other means than an incorporation of the legislatures of both countries?

It is important to recollect, that soon after the commercial disability of Ireland was removed; after she became capable of foreign intercourse, and was roused to domestic industry, a new empire was founded and established

blished on the other side of the Atlantic, whose wants and numerous necessities, during its state of infancy and weakness created an increased demand, and opened a new and extensive market for the productions of Europe. It seems extraordinary, therefore, in a political analysis of the commercial acquisitions of Ireland, to omit the value of so palpable and important a concurrence of circumstances. The situation of Ireland being peculiarly fitted for communication with the new world, and the principle of commerce expanding itself in proportion as it had been repressed, she fully and happily availed herself of this great provocation to labour and manufacture, to industry and trade; and let it be observed, that this important source of wealth and enterprise to Ireland, must derive considerable enlargement from a partnership with British capital, and a full and extensive participation of the trade with the West Indies; and that this must result from an union with Great Britain, hereafter shall be shewn.

When it is remembered, that the exportation of provisions forms a considerable part of the trade of Ireland; and that for several years previous to the present war, from the embarrassments of government in France, and
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unfavourable seasons, which are more frequent on the continent, there was an increased demand for the produce of Ireland, which, from her fertility, she was enabled to yield, and her locality rendered easy to transport to the western coasts of Europe: let it be added also, that Great Britain is herself a great consumer of Irish provisions; that it is Ireland which victuals her navy; that her tonnage has been augmented some millions since the American war; that her population has much increased, and in much greater proportion than her own animal and vegetable productions can supply. She has grown in trade, in manufacture, and in warlike strength; but that however extended and improved has been her agriculture, it has not kept proportion with the dimensions of her growth; and that for the sustenance of the nation, it is inadequate and deficient—if this be a just statement, and that this deficiency of the home produce of Great Britain be gradual and progressive, is not the supply to come from Ireland? and has she not thereby a growing market for redundancy?

In enumerating these distinct facts, and assigning them as causes of the acquisitions which Ireland has made within these twenty years, I have endeavoured to combine them
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with their effects, and shew their manner of operation ; it is manifest that they were extrinsic to any change or modification which might have taken place in the Irish government, that they primarily resulted from the liberality of Great Britain, and that they were cherished, matured, and extended, through the intervention of circumstances not at all connected with the internal policy or constitution of Ireland.

The extension of trade, from the original and through the means which have been mentioned, has very considerably augmented the commercial capital of Ireland ; and as men are enriched not only in proportion to the wealth which they acquire, but as they are enabled to enlarge their sphere of action, and improve their mode and capacity of trade, so Ireland became able to apply part of her acquisition, in reclaiming and ameliorating her soil, in improving her tillage, and uniting the parts of the kingdom by interior navigation. Not only the acquired capital of Ireland has been thus enabled to augment itself, but it must have derived very considerable increase from a cause purely internal, calling out a latent energy, and giving to Ireland the benefit of her population.

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When, under the operation of her penal laws, three-fourths of the people of Ireland were an incumbrance on her soil, when they were prevented from contributing to the common stock of labour and production, which is the prime capital of a nation, it should not surprise us, that she depended on foreign nations for provision, and that she felt the full effects of this impolicy. Since, however, the repeal of the most penal part of this code, the laws of discovery, in the 17th and 18th of the King, and enabling the catholic to acquire property in land, the nation has become more industrious, and the public produce has increased as this new ability has had effect. It were ridiculous to apply serious argument for the purpose of shewing, that in so fertile a soil as that of Ireland, with all her natural advantages, under this great multiplication of the power which labours and which cultivates, the produce of the public industry should have a rapid and wonderful increase; under the system of penalty and exclusion, the efficient labour of Ireland was but a fourth of her natural capacity. When, therefore, in a country whose absolute value was inconsiderable, so low a fraction of her physical strength should be actually applied to the public service, and this being broken and divided into
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the numerous classes of skill and labour which supply the wants and sustain the comforts of society, it is a necessary deduction that her lands should be without occupation and culture, that there could be no public fund resulting from the surplufage of national produce, no capital for improving the capacity and extending the faculties of Ireland, and therefore, that the general condition should be that of poverty and wretchedness. It is material to observe also, that this important change in the legislative code of Ireland, which multiplied her strength, and quadrupled her actual industry, was nearly cotemporaneous with the causes which have been stated, as having opened a new and unforeseen market for articles she was eminently fitted to produce; the improved state of Ireland, and her rapid and unexpected prosperity, seems then fairly attributable to the singular and happy concurrence of circumstances which removed the restraints of trade, and opened her ports and rivers to their great, original, and local advantages, which caused a new and extraordinary demand for her growth and produce, and at the same time multiplied this produce; as it were colonizing a vacant country, and giving life, energy, and motion to a population, which misgovernment had rendered poor

with the means of opulence, and starved in the midst of plenty.

It appears then that two eminent causes, which exchanged poverty for wealth, and have created public capital in Ireland, have been the extension of individual freedom within the kingdom, by the progress of a liberal principle, undermining the support of aristocracy and its usurpation, and the encouragement to foreign trade, through the operation of the same principle, subverting the system of monopoly among the trading and manufacturing interests of England ; and it has been already shewn, that an Incorporated Union with Great Britain must carry the principle of fairness and liberality to its utmost extent.

It is from a free and extensive exportation, that Ireland can expect an enlargement of domestic labour, and the accumulation of national wealth. As the effect of an import trade is to reduce this wealth, by the purchase of foreign articles, either with specie or produce, it is profitable to a nation only whose imports exceed the home consumption by such a quantity as can be exported and sold again to other countries, and will, by the profits of this re-sale,

re-sale, replace the value of what itself consumed : if a country want the means of such enlarged importation, or market for that amount of surplusage, its imports produce in that proportion a loss and diminution of its wealth ; and as to the consequences of importation, the employment and subsistence of several and successive classes of people, on the profits of retail, and the importance of revenue from customs and excise. This description of men would be much more useful, if their labour were directed to the attainment of mechanic skill, or in some manner to contribute to the common stock of growth and manufacture ; and whatever may be the profits of this retail, they respect only the comparison of individuals with each other, and is purely internal, and therefore have nothing to do with the estimate of one nation with the other, and the determining their relations of trade. And the national revenue, can have no essential or necessary dependence on particular modes of contribution, but in amount must depend on the degree of capital which the public actually employs, and has in full commercial energy ; and that an augmentation of capital is the direct consequence of exportation is obvious.

In this part of the argument it may be observed, that where a country loses by its imports being inadequate to a profitable extent of importation, good policy urges its discouragement, which seems best effected by an advance in the customs; as thereby the quantity imported is diminished by the necessity for increased capital, and the quantity consumed is reduced by the purchase being made more difficult; to which difficulty both causes manifestly contribute, the diminished importation, and the augmented duty.

But when the capital of a country, and its foreign intercourse, render its imports a source of riches, it equally follows, that they should be encouraged so as to produce the greatest profit, which an advanced excise seems fitted to attain; for, as the beneficial effect arises from the re-sale on exportation, it is therefore in proportion with the quantity exported, which is clearly increased by a low import duty and an high excise, the one augmenting the quantum of importation, and the other preventing its internal waste, by increased difficulty on the consumer.

However, so far as articles are imported which are materials or ingredients of manufacture,

facture, such importation cannot be understood as injurious, but as most highly beneficial, when there is a foreign market for their exportation in an improved and ameliorated state; nor can importation be condemned, when without it the foreign market would be shut against the admission of our industry, and that in exchange of labour the balance of trade is in our favour.

In applying these general principles to the case of Ireland, it results, that unless she has the means and capacities for such extended importation, as has been proved to be alone profitable, her trade of imports, in general, must be injurious, and attended with considerable loss; and this she must the more severely feel, because, as her great object must be an increase of capital, this tends directly to its diminution; the first great requisite for beneficial importation being capital, which of itself much contributes to the second, the opportunity of reselling to other states. Ireland is manifestly deficient in both; and under her present distinct establishment from Great Britain, she cannot expect to acquire these requisites, or in any degree to improve her capacity for this important and beneficial line of commerce.

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The acquisition of capital is in natural progress from infancy to age ; its original is from actual labour and cultivation of soil, whereby the redundance of artificial growth, or spontaneous produce, after consumption at home, becomes matter of exportation for abroad. Society then ascends to the attainments of art, of skill, and perfection of manufacture ; and this is at its maximum, when the labour is in greatest proportion to the material ; this, however, implies considerable preceding augmentation of capital, whereby the principles of science become the directors of art ; when manual labour is abridged, machinery is extended, the force of mechanism is applied, and when chemistry lends her light and her aid to the compositions and materials of manufacture. After a state has extensively varied her own industry, after she has explored and improved all her resources of domestic labour and production, she becomes a vender of foreign articles, and acquires profit by supplying the wants of one nation with the superfluities of another. Such is the progress, and such the attainment of national wealth.

It is by the first of these modes only that Ireland at present is enriched. She is in the infancy of capital ; the amount of several of

her manufactures is in general much under her own demands of consumption; and in many instances, her want of capital and skill give to articles imported a preference to her own; and what is worse, through the same causes, she sometimes exports the prime material, and afterwards impoverishes herself by purchasing it in a state of manufacture, and this is often of necessity, when the imported article comes better and cheaper to the consumer than the native. Ireland has but one manufacture which tends to enrich her by augmentation of capital; it is unnecessary therefore to add, that under such limited exertions, and with such small progress in the obvious and original modes of acquiring wealth, Ireland is almost infinitely removed from that mature state of growth and advancement, when superior navigation and great commercial ability create an influx of wealth to one state, from the inferiority and deficiency of others in these particulars; and it is not conceivable that, under the present political condition of Ireland, with all its circumstances, she can almost in any period of time arrive at this state of opulence and prosperity; her want of capital limits her labour, her knowledge, and her trade; the limitation of these again impedes the growth of capital; thus the difficulty cir-

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culates, and seems removeable only by the policy which, under such circumstances, an individual should adopt: finding himself unemployed and unprofitable, with fitness for labour, and ambition to be rich, he would connect himself if he could with a firm of capital and credit; the advantages of such partnership might be mutual; he would compensate money, and perhaps skill, by his industry, local advantage, and opportunity of profit; and are good sense and policy restrained to time and place, and do they apply to individuals only? cannot nations feel their influence? cannot the experience and the wisdom of private life, ever convey instruction to a nation, or inspire it with salutary admonition? We shall see whether this application derives any additional strength, from considering the other great requisite which Ireland should have besides capital, for a profitable import trade, namely, that of becoming a medium between the country which produces, and the others which consume the articles it imports.

Since the assiduous cultivation of commerce, and its becoming the great occupation of the states of Europe as their real and important source of wealth and power, they have uniformly endeavoured to extend the circle of
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their dominion by the system of colonization, by establishing settlements and factories in foreign parts, important for situation, fertility, or variety of produce; by these means they extend their internal industry, in securing a new market for their own manufactures; and the receiving in exchange the productions of their foreign possessions, reduces the price of these articles for the home consumption, and ensures a greater profit on exporting and selling the redundancy to another country. Besides these advantages in trade, the extent of foreign settlements increases shipping and naval strength, and highly contributes to aggrandize the political power and importance of the parent state.

It has also become the policy of modern times, for nations to stipulate and define with each other the terms, nature, and relations of their commercial dealings; these are constantly the subject of treaty and diplomatic adjustment, under which some states are favoured, and others are aggrieved or excluded in their intercourse of trade; and it is clear that the degree of this privilege or restriction must, in a great measure, depend on the political weight and influence which a state may have in the affairs of Europe.

It follows therefore, that although Ireland should have a capital adequate to such an extent of importation as would leave such a surplus after its own consumption, which, if exported and sold abroad, would return to her a greater sum than had been taken from her by her consumption, yet it is clear that she could never employ her capital in this way; nor under her present circumstances as a nation, can she ever look to so extensive and so important a speculation. Ireland having no foreign settlements, having founded no colonies, nor acquired external possessions of any kind, instead of trading with the produce of her own plantations, she would be obliged to purchase it from the principal state after it was brought home; and after such multiplied expence, could she ever think of reselling that produce at a profit, and where would she find a market? she must necessarily be undersold every where, even if she had a free admission into every port she might desire; but this commercial privilege can be the consequence only of high national estimation in the world, of military and naval strength, and of formidable influence in equalising and controuling the political relations of Europe: besides, on this supposition, Ireland would want the great advantage arising from the dependency of foreign settlements,

settlements, in opening a new demand, and securing a certain market for the produce of her own labour, and the important one also of extending her navigation and enlarging her naval power; though at present, through the liberality of Great Britain, Ireland has the power of a free and unrestrained trade to the West Indies, yet can she think of ever underselling Great Britain in any European market? Whom can she undersell? and does she not purchase from Great Britain the greater part of the foreign articles she consumes?

It is most manifest, therefore, that it is only by the most close and intimate incorporation with Great Britain; it is by removing every barrier which divides, and opening every avenue which can mix, connect, and consolidate both nations, Ireland can improve her internal faculties, can vary and extend her manufactures, can convert a losing into a beneficial import trade, and can share in that national ascendancy which opens the ports of other nations with freedom to her merchants, and ensures them all the advantages usually allowed the most favoured states; and it is clear, from the principles laid down, that if the immediate effect of an Incorporated Union with Great Britain were to check the importations
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of the port of Dublin, and to reduce the consumption of foreign articles through the kingdom, that this trade being now injurious, and counteracting the growth of capital, its diminution must be of essential service; the fund which is now lessened and wasted in the purchase of foreign articles would necessarily be applied to its proper object, the encouragement of culture, and the extension of the arts at home, to extract the energies of Ireland, and augment her real sources of opulence and power. However desirable such a consequence might be to Ireland in her state of youth, and of endeavour at acquiring capital, yet it does not appear a probable, much less a necessary deduction to be realized immediately, or to any amount; on the contrary, the operation of an union with Great Britain must be giving Ireland a capital, and, without the flow and gradual acquisitions of time, to give her the production of years, and to endue her at once with the maturity of manhood, without the imbecility and the increments of age. If she derive the advantage of increased capital, and become partner in the concerns and commercial system of Great Britain, she will feel the influence of this new power, not only impelling all her motions and multiplying her internal labour, but at the same time embracing

embracing foreign trade and enlarging her importations, in order to export and resell them to other countries not having the same commercial efficacy, nor the same fertile and valuable dependencies, nor marine strength to support and secure so vast a scheme of commerce.

It is objected, what are these attractive qualities which, after an Union, Ireland shall have to allure and seduce British capital ? how shall she acquire a beneficial partnership with Great Britain ? and why hitherto has Ireland not obtained these advantages ? It is an answer to the first, that it will be the great interest of Great Britain ; and to the second, that property has not been considered secure in Ireland ; and that the two countries have been kept divided and distinct : these answers I shall endeavour to enforce.

So long as the trade of Ireland was restrained, and her manufacturing and commercial principle under disability, the reason appears manifest for the solution of this difficulty, and perfect satisfaction of the enquiry. It is only within these twenty years that the ports of Ireland have been opened, and that by the operation of causes already mentioned she has
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been enabled, in any considerable degree, to apply to industry and trade; it is within this period only, then, that a reason is to be assigned why the natural advantages of Ireland have not been sufficient to solicit the attention of British companies, and effect the introduction of British capital.

It has been already stated, that the establishment of a new empire in America, and that certain transactions on the continent, had contributed much to the commercial acquisitions of Ireland, and to considerable amelioration of her condition; well had it been for her, if these beneficial consequences had flowed unmixed with evil; if at the same time that she was enriched, she had been made happy; if her prosperity had been to make her tranquil and content, not to deform her with faction and convulse her with rebellion. From the time of the constitutional change in 1782 to this hour, Ireland has been the mere theatre of political contention; and whatever might have been the original intentions of her principal combatants and stage performers, their drama has had a truly tragical termination. Can it be asked, why the owner of British capital did not embark it in a country precariously connected with

with his own, and making continued efforts to break that combination, where he saw a government infirm, dependent, and mutable, a people unequal in civil rights, and distracted with religious prejudices, and an aristocracy controuling both; whose strength was their weakness, and whose exaltation their debasement. Is it a matter of surprise, that money was not advanced in commercial speculation, or on the faith of property, in a country never exempt from local risings; whose tranquillity, when uninterrupted, was always threatened; where the laws were without force; where politics engrossed the attention of all without the understanding of any; and sedition, publicly taught by societies and conventions, passed often with impunity. And with respect to England, did not the British merchant feel that the commercial system of Ireland was different, and that she resolved to maintain that difference. If a similarity of trading laws unite in interest and lead to affection, does not the contrary create a rivalry, and make men jealous and contentious? It might have been sufficient, perhaps, without alluding to the unhappy history of Ireland since the American war, to have said, that having a distinct and separate political establishment from Great Britain,

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united only in executive, it was not prudent for an Englishman to remove even part of his capital from his own country, which he found free and tranquil, flourishing and happy, to another, where he had strong reason to think that he could not identify these qualities; where he might in vain look for this freedom and tranquillity, this prosperity and happiness.

Such being the state of Ireland, it not only barred the admission of English capital, but must have greatly limited those exertions which Ireland of herself was enabled to make. No man expends his money upon land, or speculates in commerce, who has not confidence in the firmness of the government, and the continuance of tranquillity: the very breath of public disturbance shakes the credit of a nation, it clouds the hopes of the farmer, and contracts the speculations of the merchant; it suspends the universal labour, and withers all the hands of industry.

As it has been already stated, the war with America, and the revolution in France, have had very considerable effects in Ireland, the most eminent of which have been a strong disposition to democracy, and to detach herself

self from Great Britain. The gratification of this desire, and the attainment of these objects, were the basis of her societies and conventions, and the original of those various and contentious politics which deranged and disturbed the public condition: these leading motives, however, could not be avowed; the public were to be gradually prepared; and though changes were successively proposed which contributed to the grand scheme, they were argued on their own merits only, and always met with popular approbation from the peculiar and undeniable vices in the administration of the Irish government. To defeat the object of the democrat, and those who wish to separate these countries; to banish from Ireland those unhappy politics which have injured and disgraced her; to eradicate the vices of her government, and secure her tranquillity and leisure to cultivate her natural advantages, and to enjoy the full and extensive benefits of connection with Britain, must be the direct operation of the Incorporated Union of their legislatures.

We are now well assured from experience, that the modes by which governments are assailed, and their subversion effected, are either open violence and superior force; or con-

spiracy and assassination ; or means more certain than these ; when by concessions on one side, and encroachments on the other, any part of the constitution, but particularly a branch of the legislature, falls into the hands of the enemy ; when a lodgment is effected, and the fortification which should defend becomes the means of attack upon the government. By the last of these modes fell the monarchy of France, and by every one of them did the United Irishmen attempt the subversion of the government. It is manifest, that an Union must exclude all opportunity for the last, which is most dangerous ; take away all pretences for the others, and reduce very much their probability of success. The present defective connection of the countries sustains the aristocracy, and induces the necessity of parliamentary influence, to which the people of Ireland ascribe all their political inconvenience. This will ever produce clamour and discontent. In a small country there is more sympathy ; the same system which is not felt in a great population, may have considerable and severe effects in a less ; that which no one would regard in a city, may interest all in a village. This discontent, then, produces demands, which if conceded, the

constitution is no more, and if refused may lead to conspiracy and rebellion.

Not only would an Union exclude the possibility of the constitution falling by its own hands, but as it would terminate the system which is now the subject of complaint, there would be no longer those pretences for redress and reformation, under which the good are associated with the bad ; by which the just are betrayed, and the wicked not only creates opportunity but acquires glory by his crimes : these would be no more. We should no longer have to fear conspiracy, or to contend with open violence. It is clear also, that as it is the province of the executive to maintain a vigilant police, to discover all plots and conspiracies against the state, and to apply the public force in suppressing all attempts of rebellion ; after an Union, the attention of the Irish government being less distracted, and its objects more simplified, it will be enabled to discharge this duty with more effect, and with more vigilance to detect, and greater energy to defeat, the projects of secret conspiracy, and the violence of the open rebel.

And it will be remembered, that as the imperfect and precarious connection of these countries,

countries, on their present constitutional footing, has in the present war made Ireland peculiarly the object of the common enemy; that this very circumstance solicited his attention, and provoked additional efforts against Great Britain: it disposed him more readily to co-operate, and with greater cheerfulness to contribute, with the designs of internal traitors, when he saw their schemes laid with probability of success; and that original circumstances, independent of any exertions of theirs, had diminished the difficulty which they wished to subdue, and weakened the connection they were eager to dissolve. But by an Incorporated Union, the constitutional relation of these countries becomes as fixed, as permanent, and indissoluble, as it can be in its nature. Their present metaphysical connection is manifestly deficient; it is daily impaired by the very means used for its support, and many causes may spontaneously occur to terminate this connection altogether. A legislative Union improves the moral bond to its utmost strength; and in its necessary consequences must infallibly intermix, and by this intermixture blend, both nations into one people in identity of interest and affection.

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When, therefore, the constitutional connection of these countries shall be so improved, as to discourage all attempts to affect its validity or permanence; when the internal administration of the Irish government shall be rendered more pure and efficient; when the people of Ireland shall feel no other dominion than that of the law and the magistrate; all enjoying the same constitution, possessing the same rights, and subject to the same duties, the season of tranquillity will return; affection and philanthropy must succeed to discord and division; religious difference will be forgotten, because it will cease to be important; the government, unawed by aristocracy and unimpeded by faction, will exercise its free-will; and accountable to a great tribunal for its conduct, it will have every motive to discharge, and no temptation to betray the trust which is reposed; and the people, united with the government, will feel the same interest and share the same good. Obedience will co-extend itself with authority; as the one will be firm and respectable, the other will be free and cheerful. Thus what is now corrupt will be pure, what is rebellious will be loyal, what is prejudiced will be liberal; and Ireland, instead of being the scourge of war,

war, must feel and cultivate the blessings of peace.

These great impediments therefore being removed, which have hitherto obstructed the progress of Ireland, discouraged industry, and counteracted her natural advantages, her improvement must be rapid and extensive. She has a fertile soil to induce labour and reward cultivation ; her provisions are various, abundant, and cheap ; the average price of labour and land are very considerably below that of England ; she has many of the essentials for manufacture, and has carried one to great extent ; she has the convenience of canals, and in situation is fitted for trade with all the world : can it then be doubted, where so much is to be gained, whether English capital will be allured, or that it will not be employed where it is sure to be most productive ? If in England speculation has been infinitely varied ; if it has assumed every shape, and moved in every way in which wealth can be acquired, shall it not extend itself to Ireland, where its success must be certain ? It is capital alone Ireland will want, after she acquires security and peace ; it will therefore meet the highest compensation and reward : the channel which seems to divide the two countries facilitates their

their commercial communication; and though Ireland were of less absolute importance, and that she afforded of herself less encouragement for adventure, would not her western situation, and abundance of provisions, connect her in the system of trade between England and the Indies? Would not this connection establish incipient settlements, and incorporate part of British capital in the commercial concerns of Ireland? If Ireland now send her prime materials into England for manufacture, because the countries are distinct, is it not likely that this progress may be inverted, and that the artist may follow the material when the countries are united? And this is the more likely, from the great and daily augmentation of price in all the articles of consumption throughout England, which is occasioned by her rapid population, the multitude of foreigners, and the magnitude of her burthens. If Ireland could have induced colonization from England when the two kingdoms were perfectly unacquainted, and differed in language, in manners, and in all the habits of civil life; shall not individuals be tempted now, when their government and language are the same; when numerous inter-marriages have connected them in affinity and blood; when frequent and extensive intercourse has assimilated the character and in-

stitutions of both ? If the principle of money be that of a fluid, to find its own level, shall not the surplussage of British capital, which now overflows its banks, wanting subject to enrich and channel to pursue, direct itself towards Ireland, to occupy and fertilize the lower plain ? The parts of the United Kingdom, like the parts of the human body, are nourished by the same element ; its free and active circulation is their life and their strength ; if it be impeded there is disease, its stagnation is death.

Among the consequences of Incorporation to Ireland, the improvement of her lower classes of people is one of the most important. This must be the result of the increased communication between the two countries, and of the extension of English influence : as a country advances in trade and manufacture, education becomes more general ; it is industry which reclaims and civilizes ; and if habits and manners of life are formed by association and example, the lower Irish will insensibly acquire the œconomy and method, the sobriety and order, which distinguish the English character. It has manifestly appeared in the late rebellion, how much the safety of the state may depend on the education and conduct

conduct of the lower classes of people ; their ignorance and credulity, in Ireland, disposed them to belief of the most improbable and exaggerated statements, and to imposition under the most shallow pretences ; hence the rapid progress of the United Irishmen, who relied on this disposition for success ; they knew the character of them they seduced, that there would be no chance of ability to detect their falsehood, or penetrate their fraud ; and to such depravity did this delusion extend, that in many instances the tenant waylaid his lord, the servant undertook the assassination of the master, and mutiny and treason infected the King's troops. An alteration in the general system alone can have influence on the body of the people ; they will improve by intercourse with others ; and as industry is extended and labour becomes valuable.

From the considerable acquisitions which the natural enemy of these countries has made upon the continent in the present war, it will be the obvious and necessary policy of Great Britain to augment her physical strength, and cultivate every possible source of opulence and power in the United Kingdom. There can be no better guarantee for the future conduct of Great Britain, respecting Ireland, than

the influence of her own interest. It is well known, how much the army and navy of England are recruited from the population of Ireland; this population will increase, as tranquillity is secured and property acquired. It is from the prosperity of Ireland only, that England can derive an efficient and powerful ally, instead of an expensive and weakening associate in finances and in war.

And it should be recollected, by those who draw unfavourable inferences from the former conduct of Great Britain respecting Ireland, before the American war, when the Irish legislature was dependent and inoperative, that the circumstances of both parties are most considerably changed; that England has not only the great incentive now arising from the increased power of her natural enemy, but that this enemy has, by certain changes in his political establishment, affected to give the world a more perfect model of internal government, by the extension of individual freedom, and the cultivation of every faculty which can contribute to the national aggrandizement; and however imperfectly France may attain these objects, and realize this theory, yet it will more than heretofore seriously behove Great Britain to maintain her
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exalted character for constitution as well as power, by equalising the rights of all her subjects, by a system of equal and universal liberality, opening and extending to all the means and opportunities of wealth, and deriving her own energy and strength from the zeal and co-operation of all her parts; and Ireland, not as formerly depressed by faction and weakened by religious divisions, will be enabled to express her wants and her wishes in a tone of firmness and union, which must ever prove effectual.

It has been confidently objected, that the proposed measure of incorporating the legislature of the two countries, would be a breach of the constitution of Ireland, and that the existing parliament is not competent to so important a change.

Without relying on the direct negative which this doctrine receives from precedent in the beginning of the present century, it may be answered, that the great leading principle of the British constitution, to which all others have reference by regulating the means of its attainment, is, that the power of legislation shall be exercised originally or representatively by those who are to render obedience; the terms

terms of this abstract right are identified in the two houses of parliament, and the royal authority is the security of both; it is manifest then, from the argument which has been applied, and the facts which were its foundation, that a legislative Union of Ireland with Great Britain, has the direct tendency to enlarge the constituent body in Ireland, and by removing what has hitherto interposed itself between that body and the legislature, weakening the one by division, and debasing the other with impurity, to strengthen this relation, to give influence and efficacy to Ireland in the supreme legislature, whose will must prevail and determine for the whole empire, and which now, though indirectly and circuitously, is necessarily effectuated in Ireland, and no local or distinct establishment ever can contravene it. Ireland at present is substantially governed by the councils and politics of Great Britain, without any advocate or representative of her will; an Union ensures to Ireland representatives of her own choice, and respectable in qualification, and therefore more likely to express her will and enforce her interests in the legislature with purity and effect.

That it is competent for the existing legislature to adopt any measure which the people themselves,

themselves, in an aggregate capacity, might determine, is equally and undeniably a principle of the British constitution, confirmed by long and uninterrupted usage, without the occurrence of a single case in which it has been questioned; no particular part of the English constitution has ever been considered as so fundamental or vital, or essential, as not to have been subject to this power. The succession to the throne, which would seem to be as intimate and unalterable a right as any which the constitution recognizes, has been changed and modified in great extent; the stream of royal descent, which flowed for centuries in the same channel, was suddenly stopped and diverted by the existing legislature; and to this obstruction and diversion, are the liberties of England at this day to be referred. The two houses of parliament, in notion of law, and on the genuine and pure principles of the English constitution, stand in place of the whole nation; and are considered as that very nation, with complete investiture of every right, and devolution of every power which the people in their original capacity, if individually collected, could possess and exercise. This is the character of a great and rational establishment, whose object is the universal happiness, to which tranquillity is essential.

essential. The great end of civil regulation, is to prevent the acting in multitude; to concentrate the force of numbers without their inconvenience; and, by reduced delegation, to commit the deliberation of public affairs to a few, so proportioned and qualified that the general freedom shall be secure, and the public counsels conducted with wisdom and consistency; and it is on this principle that courts of justice have determined even against express words of grant; that a custom in corporations, narrowing the original number of electors, is good and supportable, because its tendency is to prevent tumult and confusion.

It is the complete competence of the existing legislature, to provide for every emergency, and modify the public order at its pleasure, which has given rise to an expression not generally understood, "the omnipotence of parliament;" by which nothing more is intended, than its full and perfect possession of the whole moral and physical powers of the state.

The parliamentary principle, that the individual member has no relation to local constituency, but must act and be considered as in the representation of the whole nation, and to pursue the interests of the whole, negatives the
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the doctrine which distinguishes between the people and the legislature, as if the one were the mere removeable trustee, dependent upon and accountable to the other. Parliament to be sure is invested with a great trust for the public good ; but for its conceptions of expedience and necessity, and the measures by which it may pursue this good, it is not accountable to any power whatever ; to its discretion and wisdom, the nation commits its whole interest, present and future ; its will is the will of parliament, and the force of the community is at its disposal ; and hence is it, that an impeachment by the house of commons, is entitled in the name of all the commons of Great Britain ; and therefore follows the constitutional corollary, that the proceedings of impeachment do not abate by the death of a particular parliament, because it is the nation itself which is the party that prosecutes, and the nation cannot die. In any other view of the constitution of parliament, than supposing it competent to every power which the nation itself could exercise if it had made no delegation, it would be impossible to justify several acts of legislation, which flow clearly from this principle. Parliament has frequently varied the term of its own duration ; it prescribes what description of the people, and under what circumstances,

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stances, shall have the right of suffrage. The parliament of Ireland disfranchised three-fourths of its own constituent body, which measure has been censured for its impolicy and severity; but never for want of constitutional right in the parliament. The house of commons annexes qualifications to its own members, which circumscribes the choice of representatives to the people; it determines on the validity of its own election, and arbitrarily expels and disfranchises by its own authority. These several acts respecting the relation between the constituent and legislature, and in important degrees varying and abridging the rights of the former, establish, with all the certainty of demonstration, that the constitution of parliament is not at all analagous to the private relation of principal and deputy; but that it acts to every purpose as in place of the nation itself, with all its natural and moral ability.

It is then from want of reflection in some, and of information in others, that the proposed measure of legislative Union is said to be beyond the competence of parliament, and that it would violate the constitution. The constitution of England is not laid with so small a basis, nor confined within those nar-

row limits, which these men suppose: it has itself grown out of the numerous changes and additions in the laws and government of the kingdom, which have been made from time to time as wisdom has suggested or experience required: necessities of time, and new and growing combinations of circumstances, call for changes in the general policy, and new measures for the public conduct. The constitution of England is not inflexible to change; it claims not the immutability of China, but grows with the growth and strengthens with the strength of the people; and hence is it that the dimensions of her public power are gigantic, and that superior and unbounded vigour of mind and body pervade the frame of her polity.

I have now, my Lord, adverted to every topic to which I had originally intended to apply myself. Nothing could have induced me to trespass so far in this discussion, but a firm persuasion that the present state of Ireland is such, as to alarm not only the friends of the British empire, but every man interested in the support of social order, and the cause of humanity and religion. Much ignorance has prevailed concerning the affairs of Ireland, and it is pretended by many, that there

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is no present necessity sufficient to demand and provoke so important and radical a change, as the legislative incorporation of the two countries. It was my object to take from this ignorance all excuse, and to explain and enforce a necessity which involves the tranquillity of Ireland, and the safety of the British empire. I should have felt less confidence in my own opinion, and have announced it to the Public with more timidity, had it been the offspring only of a moment, or had I heard from any opponent of the measure, a single argument which my understanding could tolerate, or any fact of which I had not been apprised. Experience has convinced me, that we often speak without thinking, and act before we deliberate. We regard ourselves more than the Public; hence arises local policy instead of national, and the prevalence of private interest in place of the public. Pride also impedes investigation, and clouds the conception even of our own interest; and through vanity we often reject what reason and judgment would embrace as beneficial.



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